

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 06923 01 OF 02 261402Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EURE-00 /060 W

----- 119288

P R 261345Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8348

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 06923

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: THE CURRENT STATE OF THE CDU/CSU

REF: BONN 06803(NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE HELMUT KOHL DEPARTS FOR A BRIEF VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES (MAY 2-7) IN A MOOD OF CONFIDENCE AND OPTIMISM. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS DIFFER--SOME SHOWING THE CDU/CSU SLIGHTLY AHEAD.ALL INDICATE A TREND FAVORABLE TO THE UNION PARTIES. KOHL HIMSELF HAS GAINED IN POPULARITY SINCE BECOMING THE CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 06923 01 OF 02 261402Z

BUT STILL LIES CONSIDERABLY BEHIND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT.

THE MORALE AMONG THE LEADERS AS WELL AS THE RANK AND FILE CDU MEMBERS FOLLOWING RECENT EVENTS (E.G., HANNOVER, THE POLISH AGREEMENTS' VOTE IN THE BUNDESRAT, AND SPD INTERNAL PROBLEMS) IS VERY HIGH. PARTY LEADERS ARE GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CDU/CSU VICTORY IN OCTOBER. THEY ARE WELL AWARE THAT THE FIVE MONTHS BETWEEN NOW AND THE BUNDESTAG ELECTION CONTAIN A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PITFALLS. END SUMMARY.

1. CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE KOHL PREPARES TO EMBARK FOR A BRIEF VISIT TO THE U.S. IN A MOOD OF CONFIDENCE AND OPTIMISM. PARTY MEMBERSHIP CONTINUES TO GROW, THE MORALE OF THE RANK AND FILE IS HIGH, AND HE HAS WEATHERED HIS INITIAL PUBLIC DEBATES WITH SCHMIDT WELL ENOUGH TO GIVE HIM AN ENHANCED SENSE OF SELF-ASSURANCE. IN THE BUNDESTAG AND IN THE BUNDESRAT, FOR EXAMPLE, HE HAS MANAGED TO HANDLE HIMSELF UNDER PRESSURE, COOLLY AND WITH A SENSE OF PRESENCE WHICH BELIE THE CHARGES THAT HE IS NO MORE THAN A PROVINCIAL POLITICIAN WHO COULD NEVER TAKE ON A FORMIDABLE OPPONENT SUCH AS SCHMIDT.

2. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS AS TO WHO WOULD WIN THE BUNDESTAG ELECTION, IF IT WERE TO BE HELD NOW RATHER THAN NEXT OCTOBER, VARY CONSIDERABLY. ALLENSBACH SHOWS THE UNION PARTIES WITH 52 PERCENT COMPARED TO 47 PERCENT FOR THE SPD/FDP. INFRATEST SHOWS THE SPD/FDP WITH 50 PERCENT AND THE CDU/CSU WITH 49 PERCENT. EMNID INSTITUTE SHOWS THE GOVERNMENT COALITION WITH 51 PERCENT AND THE OPPOSITION WITH 48 PERCENT.

3. ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING RESULTS OF RECENT POLLS WAS AN ALLENSBACH SURVEY TAKEN IN MARCH, WHICH SHOWED THE CDU WITH A SURPRISING 57 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA. IF THIS FIGURE IS ACCURATE, THE COALITION PARTIES ARE IN SERIOUS TROUBLE FOR ONE OUT OF EVERY THREE GERMANS LIVES IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA. IN ADDITION, THIS HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED LAND ON RUHR AND RHINE HAS BEEN AN SPD STRONGHOLD. ALL THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 06923 01 OF 02 261402Z

POLLS AGREE THAT THE CDU/CSU IS RIDING AN UPWARD CURVE IN POPULARITY. WHETHER THIS CURVE WILL LEAD THEM TO AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY ON OCTOBER 3 REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION.

4. THE TRUCE BETWEEN FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS AND THE LIBERAL WING OF THE CDU, INCLUDING THE CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE, IS EVERY BIT AS FRAGILE AS THE TRUCE WHICH

PAPERED OVER THE DIVISIONS WITHIN THE SPD AT THE MANN-HEIM "PARTEITAG." THE POTENTIAL THEREFORE REMAINS FOR AN OUTBREAK OF NEW HOSTILITIES SHOULD SOMETHING TRIGGER THE WRATH OF FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS. THERE ARE RUMORS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT STRAUSS IS IRRITATED BECAUSE KOHL HAS NOT UTILIZED THE CDU/CSU "LEADERSHIP TEAM" IN WHICH STRAUSS AND OTHER CSU POLITICIANS HAVE A VOICE.

5. FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS' PLANS FOR THE FUTURE LIKE ALL HIS PLANS REMAIN AN ENIGMA. STRAUSS, AS IS HIS CUSTOM,

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 06923 02 OF 02 261402Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EURE-00 /060 W

----- 119286

P R 261345Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8349

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 06923

PLAYS HIS CARDS VERY CLOSE TO HIS VEST AND FEW, IF ANYONE, KNOW WHAT HE PLANS TO DO. AN ARTICLE A FEW WEEKS AGO IN THE "MUENCHNER MERKUR" INDICATED THAT EVEN IF THE CDU/CSU WON, HE WOULD NOT TAKE A FEDERAL MINISTRY BUT WOULD RETURN TO BAVARIA TO SUCCEED GOPPEL AS MINISTER PRESIDENT. OTHERS ARE CONVINCED THAT STRAUSS COULD NOT RESIST ONCE AGAIN SERVING IN THE FEDERAL CABINET, ESPECIALLY AS FINANCE OR FOREIGN MINISTER. AS OF NOW, IT IS BELIEVED THAT HE WOULD TAKE THE FINANCE MINISTRY AND NOT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY.

6. THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN CONSIDERABLE DEBATE WITHIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 06923 02 OF 02 261402Z

THE CDU WHETHER OR NOT TO RUN A "CONFRONTATION CAMPAIGN" BASED ON THE SUCCESS OF FILBINGER'S "SOCIALISM OR FREE-DOM" THEME IN THE APRIL 4 BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG CAMPAIGN. OUR SOURCES IN THE CDU TELL US THAT FILBINGER, UNLIKE STRAUSS AND THE CSU, DOES NOT BELIEVE SUCH A THEME WOULD BE ADVISABLE FOR THE BUNDESTAG ELECTION. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT SOME OF THE MORE CONSERVATIVE CDU AND CSU POLITICIANS WILL NOT MAKE SHARP ATTACKS ON THE SOCIAL-LIBERAL COALITION ON THE GROUNDS THAT "OSTPOLITIK" NEGLECTED VITAL GERMAN INTERESTS OR THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FAVOR "VOLKSFRONT" GOVERNMENTS IN FRANCE AND ITALY. HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THAT KOHL AND OTHER KEY CDU POLITICIANS HAVE DECIDED NOT TO UNDERTAKE A "FREE-DOM VS. SOCIALISM" CAMPAIGN.

7. AT THE MOMENT, FRATERNITY AND GOOD FELLOWSHIP ARE THE ORDER OF THE DAY IN THE CDU. FOR THE FIRST TIME PARTY INSIDERS BELIEVE THAT THE CDU/CSU HAS A REAL CHANCE TO TAKE OVER THE REIGNS OF GOVERNMENT AFTER THE OCTOBER ELECTION. THEY ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT THE DIFFICULTIES IN OBTAINING AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY, WHICH HAS ONLY HAPPENED ONCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, ARE CONSIDERABLE. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT GENSCHER'S FDP WILL PLEDGE CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE SOCIAL-LIBERAL COALITION FOLLOWING OCTOBER 3. HOWEVER, SHOULD THE SPD/FDP JUST MANAGE TO EKE OUT A RAZOR-THIN MAJORITY, SOME UNION POLITICIANS BELIEVE THEY MIGHT WOO THE FDP AWAY FROM THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. IN ANY EVENT, THEY FEEL IT IS JUST A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE SOCIAL-LIBERAL COALITION BREAKS UP EVEN IF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND LIBERALS MANAGE TO SURVIVE THE BUNDESTAG ELECTION THIS TIME.  
HILLENBRAND

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PARTY STRENGTH, POLITICAL PARTIES, PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, VISITS, PARTY LEADERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 26 APR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976BONN06923  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760157-1038  
**From:** BONN  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760424/aaaaatls.tel  
**Line Count:** 221  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 31 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <01 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** THE CURRENT STATE OF THE CDU/CSU  
**TAGS:** PINT, GE, CDU, CSU, (KOHL, HELMUT)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006